GENERAL HEADQUARTERS

FAR EAST COMMAND

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SECTION, GENERAL STAFF

CIVIL INTELLIGENCE SECTION

SECOND OF TWO VOLUMES

SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART IV

"WITHDRAWAL FROM THE LEAGUE"

(21 Jan - 3 Apr 1933)
Vol II

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RESTRICTED

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ANGUS V. RUTLEDGE
Major, Field Artillery
CIS, GHQ, FEC

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 67
(21 & 25 January 1933)

Konoye Visits Hiranuma

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

The entire Navy, including the Navy Ministry and the Naval General Staff. take the same attitude, and in unity with the Foreign Office feel that the Army should be restrained so they will not commit any errors. They are straining every nerve for this, as never before. The Army has sent Maj. Gen. UMEZU to the Peking. Tientsin area and also Consul TANAKA, with the approval of the War Ministry, and are having them do their utmost so that there will be no mistakes.

Because Japan contends that Jehol is a part of Manchuria, no great problem is involved in the fact that Japan will send soldiers to Jehol should the peace there be disturbed by other forces. However, we must avoid the pitfalls which may appear if our forces should accidentally spread to the Peking, Tientsin area and if the Chinese should make a pretended issue of it and cause intervention by the Powers. In any case these are grave problems and the Army seems to be thinking it over, but there are many with reckless views so we cannot avoid anxiety.

It is said that the War Minister visited Prince SAIONJI on January 17, and for two hours and a half explained to him the various problems in Manchuria at present, with the aid of a map. When I met the Prince later, he said that the War Minister was a very eloquent speaker, but nevertheless he had cautioned him somewhat. He also said: "His plans are very clear-cut, but the basic idea is different from ours ---. I don't know what will happen--." "He spoke ambiguously; at any rate, he came and discussed what I

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wanted to know so please go and visit him at once."

Returning to Tokyo, I went to pay my respects to the War Minister at his official residence, but since he was in the midst of a conference, I left my message with his secretary. The secretary told me that the Minister had been worried, fearing that the Prince might have been tired, because he had talked with the Prince for so long a time.

For some time past, there has been much ado over the lese majeste affair involving the Premier at the opening of the Diet in December. Such complaints as: 'He set his foot upon the Imperial Throne', went around and at the same time: 'At the New Year's Party, the Premier read a portion of the Reply to the Throne before he had received the Rescript from the Emperor', and that these things were very disrespectful. There was no such thing as the incident of the Imperial Throne but Chairman of the House of Representatives AKITA and Yonezo MAEDA said to newspapermen that they were very much embarrassed at that time. Therefore there was a tendency of people who wanted to stir up trouble to utilize it. There were also the rightist blocs which circulated reprehensible literature, and people who made some trouble out of the matter of the Reply to the Throne, but it did not amount to very much.

The understanding members of the Seiyukai said that to attack the Government or the Premier on such grounds was not becoming of statesmen. Of course his action was not meant to be disrespectful and the Premier had apologized to the Throne. This was a private matter and should end soon. It was not worthy of such discussion. However, there seem to be those who wish to bring these matters back into discussion again.

Komoye Visits Hiranuma

It seems that the second son of the Chief Secretary had some connection with the Communists, and there are those who bring up the point that he had been arrested. They were at work, circulating the story that the Chief Secretary would surely resign or that he should do so. There were even those who said to me: "I want someone from the House of Peers to succeed the Chief Secretary. How about Count ARIMA? Please speak of this to the Premier."

However, I wanted to speak to Forestry and Agriculture Minister GOTO first so I went to his place and he said: "It may be all right when a new Cabinet is being formed but it is not opportune just now in the middle of everything. However, wouldn't it be all right to mention it to the Premier for his information, in the event that Chief Secretary SHIBATA might resign?"

I did speak to the Premier about it, but of course, he has no intention of making him resign. This practice of having a parent lose a position of great responsibility because his son was Communistic, and having him say that he is terribly ashamed seems to comply with the Japanese polity on the surface, but it is not a very desirable thing in reality. There is a great deal of discussion to the effect that setting up such a custom is very bad. It is only because this problem is so delicate that it is not discussed very much.

The Diet has been in session from January 21, but there have been no serious problems. The atmosphere around the League has been written about in various ways by the newspapers, but our attitude has been decided upon. England's Foreign Minister seemed very concerned and wants to intervene somehow. The newspapers had made a great fuss over the

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possibility of having Japan admonished by the application of the fourth of the 15 Articles. They came out with such things as: "We will withdraw", and: "Head-on Collision." Later, the Foreign Office received a telegram from Representative Plenipotentiary MATSUOKA asking that Japan remain silent and give him some time.

Instead of Japan's newspapers being at fault in the matter of publishing these communications from Geneva and clamoring that the dignity of the nation had been harmed, the actual fact is that Representative MATSUOKA and Maj. Gen. TATEKAWA at Geneva have bribed the Japanese newspapermen as well as the others and have had them send back those critical telegrams. Therefore, MATSUOKA's telegrams advising the Government to have the nation take a more docile attitude and also to be silent and give him time were really unjustifiable. I think he had better blame himself, in that he had actually exceeded his authority.

The political situation is such that rumors are rampant and the greatest point for caution is the rumor that the Cabinet is idle and inefficient, and also that Premier SAITO will resign as soon as the Diet adjourns or the budget is approved. The Seiyukai members are relying upon the fact that when the Diet is dissolved, the Premier will resign and that the power will swing to their Party. Some contend that it is too early to form a party Cabinet and also that the next Cabinet will be an interim Cabinet. However, among these, we must pay the greatest care to the activities of Baron HIRANUMA. There is a rumor rampant that: "recently a connection was made between HIRANUMA and the SATSUMA clique."

I had thought it very unusual that the attitude of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal toward HIRANUMA had changed

so radically from bad to good recently. The most obvious fact was related to me by a very friendly person among the newspapermen who are used to coming to my place. He said that he had met HIRANUMA recently and the Baron had praised the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal very highly and had been very disrespectful toward Prince SAIONJI. I thought that this, too, was very odd.

Later, Seigo NAKANO came to Prince KONOYE's home and wanted to meet him. So KONOYE met him and NAKANO said: "The Baron has never said anything such as that the Emperor's advisers are insolent, etc. He has, however, listened to some people who had come to say such things. He is not planning anything fascistic at all. He advocates parliamentary government. I would like to have you meet him by all means."

Thereupon, KONOYE was invited to HIRANUMA's home on the night of January 24 together with NAKANO. He talked with him for a long time. When KONOYE returned, I spoke with him on the phone and he said: "We spoke very frankly and at length for four or five hours while we ate. HIRANUMA said: 'After all, fascism is no good. We must have parliamentary government by all means. However, the present political parties are corrupt. No doubt the Diet will be dissolved two or three times and more. If we permit the Army to do things as they are doing today, there is no telling what will happen to our nation. I am confident that I can suppress the Army and so is the Navy. I am thinking of intervening between TAKARABE and SUETSUGU and of combining the forces that are now split. As for our China policy, I believe that we must strike to the south--- that is, I listened to Ambassador YOSHIDA's views and I

am in complete accord.'

"He has always associated with TAKAHABE, had met ADACHI and occasionally YAMAMOTO, Gorozei and TOKONAMI. Reasoning from the fact that HIRANUMA is recommending HAZAKI over ARAKI among the military, I think that HATA, the Commander of the Kempei, is also among them."

By this meeting with KONOYE, the things which I had been in doubt on were made very clear. I then warned KONOYE emphatically; "You must not get too involved. Just listen, that is all."

HIRANUMA and the like say such things as that the Army must not interfere as it is doing now, but no one is to blame for permitting the Army and the Navy to interfere except themselves. I believe that HIRANUMA in particular is responsible for it. I wondered over again how selfish they were, but since the men in back of it were ADACHI, TAKARABE, TOKONAMI and maybe KUHARA, I thought it very odd.

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Chapter 68
(2 - 3 February 1933)

British Proposal Rejected

Translated by Lieut. Taichi L. Nishihara

Because Prince KONOYE had met with NAKANO and the like there is the danger of such an opportunity being utilized later with various meanings. I told KONOYE: "When HIRANUMA wanted to see you, you should have had him come to your place. That is just becoming to a man of your social standing and position." However, this matter belongs to the past and from one point of view, I think it was very significant that he was able to obtain HIRANUMA's personal opinion intimately and directly.

On the 26th and 27th, I was at Okitsu with KIDO. About ten o'clock on the morning of the 27th, KIDO had reported to the Prince that he had changed his opinion somewhat from that which had resulted from recent talks, taking into consideration the views of the Chamberlains concerning the matter of the Imperial Inquiry and the Reply to the Throne in the case of a political change.

I also reported the general situation regarding the actions of Baron HIRANUMA. We had lunch there. At that time, KIDO said: "When I published the diary of my grandfather, there was a note of his having met you in 1868. It said that Prince SAIONJI was the genius among the nobility."

The Prince replied: "Yes, your grandfather had a fine mind and I am greatly indebted to him. I used to meet him at a restaurant called Aoyagi near the Ryogoku Bridge. Once he said that I was the foremost among the nobility and I told him that I was not satisfied. He

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then said that he couldn't call me the greatest in Japan yet and I remained silent. He asked me if I would be satisfied if he said that I was the greatest in the world. I replied: 'I am not concerned about becoming the greatest in Japan or the world. If you tell me that I can take my place among those who would benefit the world, then I will be satisfied.' Prince KIDO agreed with me wholeheartedly. It is a rather amusing tale."

I returned to Tokyo that evening.

On the 28th, the British Ambassador had gone to see the Foreign Minister and said: "Won't you consider the plan that Foreign Minister SIMONS submitted to MATSUDAIRA and MAISUOKA?" This plan was the resolution and the explanatory note of February 25th. Of these two, the ninth clause of the explanatory note stated that the return to the status-quo of September 18th and the recognition of the present government was not a solution of the Manchurian problem. Japan is firmly advocating that these two items be eliminated from it but the Nineteen Nations Committee will not agree.

SIMONS and EDEN contend that because the contents of the ninth clause of the explanatory note were drawn up from the fourth clause of the 15 Articles, and that the situation might become such that it would be referred to;instead of its elimination, the ninth clause should be included in the Chairman's declaration and Japan should lodge another declaration opposed to it. At the same time, the nations concerned, China and Japan, should join the Conciliation Committee and initiate direct negotiations. In other words, they are advocating the third clause of the 15 Articles.

In regard to this matter the Government must make a reply to Great Britain and also to the Secretary-General of the League.

On the 30th, the Foreign Minister called unexpectedly and said that he wanted to go to Okitsu on the 31st and meet the Prince about 1 P.M. He wondered how it was with the Prince. I had also thought that I must see the Prince and tell him of the above developments.

The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal called and said that he wanted to see me so I met him at his official residence. He said: "The British Foreign Minister is striving to negotiate on the terms of the third clause and he is very friendly towards us. This friendly plan of England will mitigate the harsh feelings which have been directed toward Japan only. We can also divert this feeling temporarily, even if China does not agree with us during the China-Japan negotiations. Not only that, I think that it will be disadvantageous in the future for Japan to refuse every offer now. If the fourth clause is applied, the question of withdrawal may arise again according to the contents of its recommendations. This matter of withdrawal from the League is an extraordinary one, so how about having the Prince recommend to Foreign Minister UCHIDA to have the Government utilize the English proposal somehow. Won't you please go to Okitsu about this matter?" I said: "I had the intention of going to Okitsu so I will leave tonight and talk with the Prince in detail tomorrow morning." I then left the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's official residence.

I stopped at the Foreign Affairs Ministry and talk-

ed with TANI and ARITA. They said that even if direct negotiations were initiated according to the third clause of the 15 Articles, there was still the Jehol affair to consider and that one or two months later we would be censured under the fourth clause. If we are to be advised at all and we took steps according to the third clause, we must after all be forced to submit to the recommendations resulting from the fourth clause without infringing upon the third clause. The matter may pass without great developments, though how it may turn out is beyond imagination in view of their contents. For a time the Navy advocated the third clause in order to lessen the excitement and the disorders as much as possible. The Navy had been advocating conciliation by the Conciliation Committee, that is, the initiation of direct negotiations between Japan and China, but finally by the night of the 30th, the Army, Navy and the Foreign Affairs Ministry had agreed and decided to decline the British proposal.

I went to Okitsu on a late train and reported to the Prince at 9:30 on the 31st. I reported an incident I had failed to mention previously. This was the fact that when I had dinner with Lieut. Colonel MUTO of the General Staff Headquarters and Lieut. Colonel HARA of the Military Affairs Section of the War Ministry, Lieut. Colonel MUTO had received orders to observe the situation south of the Tientsin-Peking area. Lieut. Col. MUTO said that when he went to meet the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff, to receive his travel order, he was told: "Tell the Government officials over there to be very careful. It will be particularly bad should

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Japanese forces move south of Changcheng. It would be disastrous should the Peking-Tientsin areas, when Jehol is attacked, be subjected to war damage, or the stationary troops there act in cooperation with those in Jehol. If such things should happen, I am firmly resolved to go there and to sacrifice my life in stopping it, for I am aging and my end is not far." Lieut. Colonel MUTO said that the Deputy Chief of the Army General Staff was a very understanding person.

Lieut. Colonel NEMOTO said: "I believe that now is the most dangerous time of all. This is because if we are not sure of withdrawing from the League, it is better to move along the lines of the third clause of the 15 Articles. This line of action, according to the third clause of the 15th Article, needs great courage as compared to withdrawal from the League, in view of the present atmosphere in this country. If possible, this way is safer. If we can decide upon withdrawal, then it would be all right to reject the third clause and wait for the fourth clause, but actually we are taking a firm stand when there is no intention of withdrawal. If a stage is reached where we are forced to withdraw because of circumstances, I think that it is a silly thing, but in that case it would be unavoidable.

"The opinions of men such as Lieut. Col. SUZUKI, who spent many years in China, are often biased. I am not criticizing Lt. Colonel SUZUKI's character, but often argue with him."

I spoke of these things to the Prince and also of Foreign Minister UCHIDA's desire to visit him.

The Prince said: "I believe that the anxiety of Lord

Keeper of the Privy Seal MAKINO is justifiable. However, the Army is determined to attack Jehol and judging from the actual atmosphere, there is nothing to do but to obey the decisions of the Government. However, I would like to have the Foreign Minister give his word as regards certain important points. But I don't think it would do to instruct him to comply with the third clause, that is, to comply with the requests of the Foreign Minister of Great Britain."

I left the residence of the Prince around eleven and went to Shizuoka to wait for the Foreign Minister; I met him right at the station. I told him of the telephone call I had from TANI while I was at the Prince's home. TANI said: "If the Foreign Minister should meet any newspapermen on his return from the home of Prince SAIONJI, he must state strong views regardless of the actual nature of the talk." The Foreign Minister consented and he told me: "If you reach Tokyo in the evening, go to the Foreign Affairs Ministry immediately and say that I will give a reply to the British Ambassador in the afternoon after tomorrow's Cabinet Conference. The reply will be: 'I am very grateful for the good-will expressed by your concern. I have given it serious consideration but I cannot accept your proposals as they are now framed. I would like to ask you to do your utmost along the line of having Japan's claims substantiated according to something between clauses three and four.' Have them make an English copy of it."

I left on the 1:40 train and reached Tokyo a little before five. I immediately went to the Foreign Affairs Ministry and spoke of it to TANI and ARITA in detail.

They both consented.

That night, I spoke with KONOYE and members of the Seiyukai until rather late. It seems that there was some feeling in the Diet of presenting a separate resolution to the League but it was decided not to do so.

Early the next morning, I went to see the Premier. I told him of the situation existing about the time of the Foreign Minister's visit to the Prince. The Prince had asked me previously of what the Premier's opinion was and I had told him that the Foreign Minister would probably tell him. I asked the Premier for his opinion and he said: "We must not withdraw. It would be very disadvantageous for Japan. By withdrawing Japan would lose her position, which has a bearing upon various general world affairs such as economics and finance. Japan's contentions are as contentions a separate problem. Therefore, we should forbear, whatever advice we get, and we must remain in the League."

The Navy's view is that it is not good to withdraw from the League but the Army is expressing the desire to withdraw.

I asked Premier SAITO: "How would it be if you explained Japan's position to the Deputy-Chiefs of the Army and Navy General Staffs?"

He replied: "I also am thinking of it."

However, I heard in the Foreign Affairs Ministry that during the previous day's Cabinet Conference the Navy had stated that if the third clause is discarded and we submit to the fourth clause there can be no telling what will happen. If such is the case the Navy's responsibility will be far greater than that

of the Army. Therefore, there is a necessity to demand a budget of ¥600.000,000 or ¥700,000,000. It is very easy for Cabinet Conference matters to leak out to the public, so if it ever reached them that the Navy had demanded money for war preparations they would receive a great shock. I thought that this would not be very favorable either internationally or internally.

I told the Premier about this and he said that it would be very troublesome to have the Navy Minister say such things. Later, I went to the Navy Minister's private residence in Takanawa and spoke with him. He said: "There is no special demand for expenditures; the Chief of the Naval Affairs Bureau probably said that at the Foreign Ministry, but I have no such intentions. However, if we submit to the fourth clause, then I would like to press the fact that a considerable amount of determination is needed."

I asked him what this determination was and he said: "I intend to ask the members of the Cabinet about it at today's meeting. It is not very good for the Premier to call the Deputy Chiefs of the Army and Naval General Staffs. He should not call them because they are ridiculing the Premier."

I immediately went to the official residence of the Premier and told him of my talk with the Navy Minister. I told him that there would be no demand for the budget and that it would be advisable to cancel his meeting with the Deputy Chiefs of the Army and Naval General Staffs.

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Chapter 69
(9 February 1933)

Shall We Withdraw from the League?

Translated by Lieut. Taichi I. Nishihara

In the Cabinet Conference of the 1st, there was criticism that the Army had taken over the determination of recent Japanese foreign policies and that the newspapers were too hasty in advocating withdrawal. Also, that the Army was making statements in all matters concerning foreign policy. It was explained that the newspapers were responsible, and that the Army was not. They say that it is unavoidable because the Army is not making them write such things but that the newspapers themselves are writing them.

Finance Minister TAKAHASHI attacked the Army savagely and the War Minister appeared to be at a loss. He asked the War Minister: "If the newspapers are writing such things, why are they not stopped? They can easily be stopped by the power of the Army as it is today. It is a very unexcusable thing that the Army does not stop them."

After two or three days had passed, it seems that the members of the Cabinet and others, particularly the Chief and the Vice-Chief of the Asia Bureau of the Foreign Ministry, had heard the discussion that withdrawal was inevitable, and that the Prince had fully consented to the decision to withdraw from the League should the 4th clause be applied and Japan's stand become untenable. This was after the return of the Foreign Minister from the Prince's residence. Vice-Minister ARITA is very much concerned and the Army is saying that as soon as the 4th clause is applied there should be a withdrawal.

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Shall We Withdraw from the League?

The War Minister had previously said: "We are being restrained on all matters by our membership in the League and we are not free to act. If we leave the League, then it is all right to do anything we wish at will. For instance, it would be all right to occupy the Tientsin-Peking area according to necessity, and we can do whatever we wish with our forces without being restrained. Being in the League is very restrictive and only by leaving the League can we attain independence and open up a sphere of freedom."

Since the War Minister is of this opinion and since men who have like opinions control the Government, even the somewhat sensible field-grade officers are following the will of the Minister and are of the opinion that it is better to withdraw. Lt. Colonel MUTO, of the General Staff Headquarters, and Lt. Colonel HARA, of the Military Affairs Section, seemed to understand on some of the points, but at any rate, very strong arguments are being circulated.

Foreign Minister UCHIDA is a very understanding man when one is actually speaking with him. However, ARITA and HARA say that UCHIDA thinks that since public opinion can be easily swayed by a few strong arguments, there is a good prospect of attaining unification of the nation by strong if perhaps radical measures. Because, though there may be many rational measures advocated by the so-called intellectuals, those measures lack practicability. Also, the Foreign Minister UCHIDA intends to take such a position upon any matter at all.

Everyone was quite concerned over the matter of withdrawal. TANI wished to move along the lines of the

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3rd clause, if possible, and explained this fact to the Foreign Minister, but the Foreign Minister argued strongly that it was preferable to move along the lines of the 4th clause and that withdrawal was inevitable. Therefore, the situation was that we would act under the 4th clause.

Vice-Minister ARITA told me: "The situation is very odd since the Foreign Minister returned from the Prince's, so I would like to make sure of the contents of the conversation between the Prince and the Foreign Minister."

Thereupon, I went to the private residence of the Premier at Yotsuya before 8 on the morning of the 5th, and I told the Premier: "Just how far did the talk between the Foreign Minister and the Prince progress? The Foreign Ministry believes that the Prince gave his consent to the withdrawal. As far as I know, the Prince's view is: 'Withdrawal will be a great loss to Japan. The problem of the League and Japan is not limited to Manchuria. There are many other more important issues. In general, withdrawal will be disadvantageous to Japan.' I think that this is very different from the story of the Foreign Minister after his return from Okitsu. I am going to Okitsu to investigate this story---"

The Premier replied: "I also think that it would not be good for the nation to withdraw. Although we should decide upon an attitude after carefully examining the contents of the 4th clause, the actual situation is that no matter what the contents are, we should remain in the League and contend that Japan's claims are just in regard to the Manchurian problem. There is no necessity for withdrawing at this time. We are not participating in the League for the sake of the Manchurian problem

alone, for a great international controversy exists and the Manchurian problem is only a part of it. It is different from the problem of the fate of the Cabinet or of an individual. Considering the future of our nation, I believe that it is not good to withdraw."

"If you go to Okitsu, I would like to have you say to the Foreign Minister that the Prince's opinion was: 'If the other party's reply is that the 4th clause is to be applied, we will take our stand after investigating its contents. I do not wish to advocate anything so rash as to withdraw immediately.' I am not very clear on what the Prince told the Foreign Minister, so if you go to Okitsu and speak with the Prince, I shall be greatly relieved. If the 4th clause is applied and the situation becomes such that we must decide whether to withdraw or not, I would like to have a conference of the advisors to the Throne before anything is decided; that is, a conference including the Chairman of the Privy Council, the former Premiers, and present Premier, and the Presidents of both the Seiyukai and the Minseito. I have been wondering whether to have ADACHI of the Kokumin Domei take part or not. Just what do you think about it?"

I replied: "Just as you say; I don't believe that it is necessary to have the Chairmen of the Diet. As for including ADACHI of the Kokumin Domei, I don't think it is necessary, but I shall think it over."

Then I left and went to Okitsu on the nine o'clock train. I reached the Prince's place about one and I immediately spoke with the Prince upon these matters.

He said: "The conversation I had with the Foreign Minister recently was as follows:

Shall We Withdraw from the League?

A. We cannot go back on our agreement as to our attitude in regard to the problem of the League of Nations.

B. We cannot have nations outside the League participate in the matter.

C. We will open direct negotiations with China.

"If we show any weakness now, China will grow impudent and the situation will become more difficult. If we are to move according to the 3rd clause of the 15 Articles, we will have the problem of Jehol, which is a matter already decided upon, so it would be better to act under the 4th clause from the beginning. The matter of withdrawal should be decided upon after careful investigation of the contents of the reply from the other party, but I shall talk with you about this matter when the time comes.'"

Furthermore, the Prince had been taking notes and on this memorandum he had written: Cabinet members all agreed; the Navy dissented, but agreed last night. Jehol attack already decided, etc.; England, etc,; Permanent Director, etc; China, etc,; Ceylon, etc,.

Concerning the matter of the permanent director, the Prince had said to the Foreign Minister; "If Japan should withdraw, she would lose the position of a permanent director nation. This would be a great loss." The Foreign Minister had agreed with it.

The truth was that the Prince had not touched upon the matter of withdrawal other than to say that he would confer on this matter when the time came.

Then I told the Prince about the conference of advisors etc., that the Premier had suggested. The

matter of whether to permit ADACHI to participate or not is too small, so wouldn't it be all right to leave it to the Premier?"

I returned to Tokyo and on the following day at the Diet meeting, I told the Premier, the Finance Minister and the Foreign Minister of the Prince's message in detail. I particularly told the Foreign Minister: "The Prince asked me to tell you: 'According to the present situation and the newspapers, you seem to have said that when you visited me I had told you that I was in favor of the withdrawal. However, I think that except for saying that I would confer with you on this matter when the time came and to act under the 4th clause, I did not touch upon the matter of withdrawal. If there is some misunderstanding somewhere will you please remind the Foreign Minister about it.'"

The Foreign Minister then said that he was well aware of the facts. However, later I heard that he had told Vice-Minister ARITA and the Chief of the Asia Bureau, as well as others in the Foreign Ministry, that the Prince had agreed to the withdrawal and that the Premier would also agree to it.

Two days later, I received a letter from Okitsu. It said in part: "When I spoke with you of the Foreign Minister's talk with me the other day, I failed to mention two things. First, the Foreign Minister told me that an agreement has been made with the Army that no troops will be sent south of Changcheng when Jehol is attacked. Second, that it is the opinion of the Foreign Ministry that it is all right for Japan to continue to hold the Mandated South Seas Islands even in the event of a with-

drawal from the League. I had failed to mention these things, so for your reference, I am adding this." I spoke of this to the Premier on the following day.

The Premier was very much relieved, because the contents of the talk with the Prince had become clear, and was very glad because the Prince had said that he was of the same opinion as the Premier.

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Chapter 70
(13 February 1933)

Jehol or Geneva?

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

About the 7th DRUMMOND introduced a measure which was made to appear like a new proposal by Japan on the surface. With this nine-clause explanatory measure, following the LYTTON report, (clauses 9 & 10) DRUMMOND expressed his intention of bringing about an amicable settlement within the League. Therefore a Cabinet meeting was held on the 8th and the attitude that the Government should assume was determined. In short, "The Cabinet expressed approval of DRUMMOND's proposal and they wired MATSUOKA to assume a cautious attitude."

According to the Premier: "The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal desires: 'to eliminate the Presidents of political parties from eligibility to participate', should there arise a necessity to convene a meeting of senior statesmen to determine whether or not to withdraw from the League of Nations. That is, the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal's plan is to include only the former Premiers. However, I (Premier) am still giving the idea serious thought."

Then I (HARADA) told the Premier: "In my opinion it is wiser to have the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal participate in the conference. The reason for this is that the only way the military can be confronted is by a strong group. Above all, regardless of whether the political parties of the present day are good or bad, as long as they are the groups which represent the people, it is only natural that the heads who represent them (political parties) should participate in such an important conference." It seemed

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that the Premier more or less, agreed with me.

On the 9th I had breakfast with MATSUDAIRA, Yasumasa of the House of Peers, OKADE and SAKAI at the official residence of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Chief of Naval Affairs was also present and of course the Director of the Asia Bureau. As we were discussing the various actions of the League of Nations, I received a message to the effect that GOTO, Minister of Agriculture & Forestry, wanted 'to see me'. Therefore I excused myself for a moment and went over to his official residence.

The Minister of Agriculture and Forestry seemed quite concerned at the attitude of the Army & Navy and he warned me: "that it is necessary to anticipate that the younger group of the Army will become agitated by false incitement when the reaction in regard to the League becomes bad--i.e. when the situation gets serious as a result of Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, and that proper counter-measures to curb this agitation is vital."

I returned once more to the official residence of the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, ARITA, and discussed various topics with him and we made the following observation:

"The military has become very amicable during the last two or three days. This might be because the Army is endeavoring to maintain equilibrium in opposition to the Navy's plan to request six or seven hundred million yen for expenditures in the event that Japan withdraws from the League of Nations."

I left for Okitsu at 10 o'clock of the 9th and when I went to make a general report to the Prince at his residence, he said:

"Well, I hope that everything goes peacefully." Nevertheless, the Prince gave the following advice in connection with the deliberation on this matter by the Privy Council:

"The Privy Council often insists that the Government 'should refer this or that matter to the Privy Council'. But after all, when a case is referred to the Privy Council for deliberation, action is based on His Majesty's judgment. In other words, it is His Majesty who makes the inquiry and not the Government. Moreover, the Privy Council has no right to demand that any problem be referred to it for deliberation. Therefore, it is necessary to caution them on this point."

When I returned to Tokyo on the 10th by the 6 o'clock morning train, I found that the situation in the League of Nations began to alter for the worse on the evening of the 9th and was already pretty serious. Therefore, on the evening of the 10th, I invited the adjutants of the War and Navy ministries to dinner at the Kuwana.

While I was there Ambassador YOSHIDA came over saying: "It is necessary that I see you" and according to his (Ambassador YOSHIDA) conversation: "What the Military is saying about Jehol sounds like a contract job, for they claim that the city has to be attacked and captured by a certain day of a certain month. Nevertheless, at a time when we are facing a critical international situation, there is no necessity to attack Jehol immediately. Is it not preferable that the attack on Jehol be postponed or temporarily concelled in order to ameliorate this grave situation? In order to do this, rather than shift into the 4th clause (re: League of Nations) and then hold an important conference to determine policy, it is better to hold it now when the

issue is between the 3rd and 4th clauses. So saying, (Ambassador YOSHIDA) requested that I "urge that the above be carried out." I said: "I'll think it over further," and we decided to part, as it was already quite late.

Ambassador YOSHIDA mentioned that he wanted to see President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai on the following day to express his views on foreign policy. Both Vice Minister ARITA and I thought it was a suitable thing to notify the President of the Seiyukai of the general outline of the (foregoing opinion of the Ambassador), as it might serve a purpose under certain circumstances. Therefore, we encouraged him to do so. Thus, Ambassador YOSHIDA met with President SUZUKI on the morning of the 10th and according to the Ambassador: "President SUZUKI understood very well what he had to say."

Early on the morning of the 11th, which was Founder's Day, I called at the residence of Finance Minister TAKAHASHI, as I wanted to inform him of Ambassador YOSHIDA's conversation with me. TAKAHASHI, Minister of Finance, was of the same opinion as Ambassador YOSHIDA but said: "In any case, as the Premier makes the decision under guidance, there is nothing we can do but depend on his opinion."

I was invited to the Kabuki by Mr. and Mrs. OMURA that evening, together with Vice-Minister ARITA, his wife and Mr. and Mrs. SHIRATORI. I started off the evening and accidentally bumped into Ambassador YOSHIDA at the Kabukiza. According to YOSHIDA, he had discussed various matters with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he was quite concerned. The Ambassador also requested me to talk to the Premier; therefore, since Count KABAYAMA had an engagement to meet ~~the~~ Premier at 10:00 p.m. that evening, and because I knew

where the Premier resided, I left the play before it was over and went to the Yotsuya residence of the Premier and passed on Ambassador YOSHIDA's opinion to the Premier for his information. At the same time, I conveyed a precaution which the Vice-Minister furnished me regarding Foreign Minister UCHIDA's attitude towards the Premier.

It seems that the military is enthusiastic over the possible withdrawal from the League of Nations, but the intellectuals, as well as business men in general, do not seem to be pleased over the situation.

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Chapter 71
(17 February 1933)

Role of the Senior Statesmen

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

Thereupon, on February 12, Ambassador YOSHIDA called on the Premier and discussed with him various points which bothered him. Vice-Minister ARITA also met with the Premier and gave him the general story. On the 13th the Premier held a Cabinet meeting and asked the opinion of the Cabinet members in regard to the reply to the League of Nations. It was finally settled, on the whole, to send off the reply which was drafted by the Foreign Ministry.

At the Cabinet meeting it was also determined that even if the 4th clause of the 15th article is reached and the recommendation made, not until the contents are carefully scrutinized should a definite stand be determined. The foregoing was doubly stressed and moreover the Jehol Issue will be looked upon in all respects as involving surgents. In other words, they are not going to attack Chinese regular troops but will attack the so-called bandits. At the same time, it was clearly decided that they will positively not go beyond the southern portion of the Great Wall. Apparently Ambassador YOSHIDA also asked the Premier: "Isn't it possible to hasten the conference of senior statesmen and cancel the attack on Jehol?" It appears that it is utterly impossible to abandon the attack on Jehol.

On the morning of the 14th I called on the Prince at Okitsu and gave him an account of events up to now. The Prince's reply was:

"If a conference of senior statesmen is going to be convened, it is better to hold it before the issue is

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referred to the Privy Council for deliberation. There was some talk previously as to whether the Presidents of both the Minseito and the Seiyukai should be included among those attending the conference.

"The Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal hesitated to make a decision stating: 'Political parties are not based on the national constitution, therefore, should they (the Presidents) be included in the conference or not?' As a result, the Premier appears to be deliberating over the matter."

In brief, the Prince remarked: "Should the Premier ask for my opinion, my answer will be: Of course, both Party Presidents should be included in the conference. If they say the foregoing is not recognized in the constitution, one can use for argument the fact that the conference of senior statesmen itself is also not acknowledged in it. Moreover, as at this time the issue concerns foreign policy, I presume that it is wiser not to include as representatives of the ministries of War and Navy, the Field Marshals and the Admirals of the Fleet. The reason why I summoned both the Field Marshals and the Admirals of the Fleet at the time of the recent political crisis was the fact that a military officer assassinated the Premier. This time the situation is altogether different and as a result it is not necessary to include them this time." The foregoing was Prince (SAIONJI's) opinion.

The following day, former Foreign Minister SHIDEHARA called on the Prince after a long interval. On the 14th, he was still staying at the Minaguchiya. The Prince informed me:

"SHIDEHARA asked that you drop in to see him on your way home if you made your appearance here."

Due to the foregoing message, I left the residence of the Prince about 11 o'clock and called on Baron SHIDEHARA who was staying at Minaguchiya. Baron SHIDEHARA said: "As I had neglected to call on the Prince after his illness, I decided to come over and pay a leisurely call to inquire after his health as well as to exchange civilities. But to tell you the truth, Ambassador YOSHIDA, Shigeru came to see me at my residence the day before yesterday and stated:

'If the present state of affairs continues, I do not know what disasters may befall our nation. I feel extremely uneasy over the matter. Therefore won't you please speak to the Premier and ask him if it is not possible to summon a conference of senior statesmen at this time and cancel the attack on Jehol.'

"Thereupon, I answered, 'I cannot advise the Premier on this matter but as I have not called on Prince (SAIONJI) for such a long time, I intend to do so in the near future.' To which, (Ambassador YOSHIDA) replied, 'It is a very good chance, therefore please go and see Prince SAIONJI as soon as possible. I would like you to leave for Okitsu even today and request Prince SAIONJI's advice on the matter.'

"After saying this, Ambassador YOSHIDA left. Later, I received a phone call from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and he stated very concernedly:

'I understand that you are going to pay a call on Prince SAIONJI at Okitsu. I think that this is an excellent idea. Please meet with him as soon as possible and talk with him in regard to the immediate convoking of a conference of

senior statesmen.'

"At the time that Ambassador YOSHIDA called on me, as well as when the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal spoke to me on the telephone, I (SHIDEHARA) felt that: 'Even if a conference of senior statesmen were convoked, since it would be a gathering of many old men, it might be made a laughing-stock should it make the wrong move. This might result not only in a bad effect but also in various dangers.' But since the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal had called, despite this anxiety I immediately paid a call on the Prince (SAIONJI) and told him of the various conversations which took place yesterday. To be sure, everything was as the Prince said:

'If the government is to hold a conference of senior statesmen, I cannot venture to oppose it but as far as this Jehol situation is concerned, it is already too late. However, if the conference is to be held for the purpose of settling general affairs of the state as well as of foreign policy, it still might afford an opportunity for discussion. But even in that case, one must be careful to ascertain to some degree the general opinion of the senior statesmen and then have the conference. Otherwise, it might result in adverse results. At the same time, the agenda and significance of the conference must be clarified.'

"The foregoing was what the Prince said and according to this, the Prince was of the opinion that it was quite impossible to prevent the subjugation of Jehol. When I heard the details from the Prince, I, too, realized that it was so.

"I (SHIDEHARA) would like to go back and call on the

Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal to deliver the answer but I calculate that my seeing the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at this time might not be wise. Even my present visit to Okitsu has been condemned by some who are saying: 'SHIDEHARA has gone to Prince SAIONJI to present his arguments opposing withdrawal from the League of Nations. The Police also reported a few moments ago that there is a group which is threatening to do something to me. Anyway, I (SHIDEHARA) feel that it is unwise to create an issue at this time, therefore I suggest that you (HARADA) deliver (Prince SAIONJI's views) to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal."

As a result, I (HARADA) promised: "When I return home, I shall request KIDO to deliver this message (to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal) for me," and then we parted. So I did have KIDO deliver the message to the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal.

After my return from Okitsu to Tokyo, I arrived at the home of the Premier only to find that President SUZUKI of the Seiyukai Party had just left. The Premier told me that: "He would like to have Prince SAIONJI informed, on my next trip, that President SUZUKI appears to have very genuine opinions regarding the present problems concerning the League of Nations.

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Chapter 72
(28 February 1933)

Withdrawal From Geneva

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

Whether or not it should be decided that Japan withdraw from the League of Nations at the Cabinet meeting to be convened at ten o'clock on the 15th, a very serious attitude must be taken. The Cabinet meeting was convened with the motive of thoroughly investigating the contents of the note before the attitude to be taken by Japan was clarified. Foreign Minister UCHIDA and the Minister of War immediately urged a resolution to withdraw from the League but it was decided that they would first observe the attitude of the general meeting. As a result, many of the Cabinet members did not express approval regarding the above.

When the contents of the note (League of Nations) became generally known on the 15th, dissatisfaction regarding its contents rapidly increased in all quarters. "Japan should withdraw from the League of Nations," was the prevailing atmosphere and, added to this, "the contents of the note are too unfavorable to Japan."

For instance, a portion of the note reads: "The independence of Manchuria cannot be acknowledged de-facto or de jure."

Speaking bluntly, it appears that they have pressed upon Japan everything that is to her disadvantage. This naturally resulted in a strong opinion for withdrawal. To tell you the truth, what surprised me more than anything else was the sudden turn in the attitude of the Navy. It seemed that the Navy circle, which had up to now opposed withdrawal from the League, suddenly

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began to advocate withdrawal. This brought about a very unpleasant atmosphere. As this caused the majority of the people to feel that withdrawal from the League was inevitable, even if a conference of senior statesmen were convened for the purpose of preventing withdrawal it would have been impossible to attain its aim. As I felt that it would be unpleasant to convoke a conference of senior statesmen only to be laughed at later, I had the urge to explain the prevailing situation to the Prince. I therefore went to Okitsu on the 17th intending to notify the Prince regarding the sudden change in the situation but upon my arrival there, the Prince himself remarked: "Looking at the situation, it seems that it is utterly impossible to avoid withdrawal. It seems that ultimately the majority will be led to favor withdrawal, therefore I surmise that it would be wiser to cancel the contemplated conference of senior statesmen."

To this, I replied: "I also feel that it will be utterly impossible to prevent Japan from withdrawing from the League and that things will turn out exactly the way you predict. Therefore I hurriedly came to report the matter to you, although I had nothing other than this of importance to tell you."

"Well, anyway, I (Prince SAIONJI) understand the situation very clearly now." As the Prince gave the foregoing reply, I returned to Tokyo that very same night. Early the following morning, I called on the Premier to deliver the opinion of the Prince, and the Premier replied: "To tell you the truth, I also have been quite concerned about the matter. Therefore, this is on very

short notice but I would like to leave by train to-night. Won't you please find out from the Prince if circumstances permit this?"

Thereupon I telephoned Okitsu directly from the official residence of the Premier and the reply was: "I (Prince SAIONJI) shall await him." And so the Premier left on the evening of the 18th for Okitsu.

About the 16th, various newspapers began to give impetus to the public in order to stir up public opinion, by repeatedly advocating immediate withdrawal from the League of Nations and by distributing extras with the contents of the note (League of Nations). The Reservists, particularly, are supporting the withdrawal from the League, and telegrams of encouragement to take an uncompromising stand are being received in large numbers by the Premier, Foreign Minister and Prince SAIONJI.

The Premier met with Prince SAIONJI from 9:30 A.M. of the 19th and after conferring with him for two hours, he immediately left on the afternoon train for Tokyo.

A Cabinet meeting was scheduled for 10:30 A.M. of the 20th.

Up to now the Presidents of the Seiyukai and the Minseito have been conservative in their attitude toward withdrawal from the League, and of course HATOYAMA, Minister of Education, was conservative also. Minister of Home Affairs YAMAMOTO was quite anxious to learn Prince SAIONJI's opinion on the matter, therefore, I phoned him before he left for the Cabinet meeting and informed him:

"There's nothing that can be done if the majority is of the opinion that Japan should withdraw from the

League. Above all, it is probably quite impossible to supress the trend of affairs at this time; this was the opinion of the Prince, a few days ago."

To this, he (Minister of Home Affairs) replied: "I understand very clearly."

In a round-about way I had heard that HAICYAMA as well as GOTO wanted to know what the Prince's views were on the pending question. Therefore I notified them to the effect that: "If the majority favored it, withdrawal from the League may be inevitable." To which, they also regretfully remarked: "Well, we presume it cannot be avoided."

In the Cabinet meeting, which was held at 10:30, the word withdrawal was not used but a general decision was taken and in the afternoon, it was definitely decided that Japan would withdraw from the League, and as a result it appeared that the general atmosphere of tenseness was relieved.

About the 20th, the newspapers, especially the gutter-press, began publishing articles proclaiming that the elder statesmen as well as the higher officials were weak-kneed and in this way, an impetus was given to the various stalwart parties.

On the 23rd Count KODAMA told me: "It seems that the Premier is going to submit his resignation as he feels responsible for the present diplomatic situation. What do you think about this?" To this, I replied: "Well, I haven't even thought about it." Moreover, I inquired why the Premier was intending to resign and the reply was that should the Premier once resign, when the issue of an Imperial command is again drawn, the battle formation

will be prepared and SAITO again may be selected Premier.

I met the Premier and he stated: "The Reservists have been submitting many resolutions. It is apparent that someone from the Army is directing them, therefore I notified the Army to sternly warn its personnel.

Furthermore, according to the Premier: "The Assembly meeting of the League of Nations will be moved up to the 24th. Therefore, the report of the meeting is expected to arrive on the 25th."

I left on the evening of February 23 for Okitsu and met the Prince on the morning of the 24th and informed him that General OI of the House of Peers stated that he would like to send Captain KOBAYASHI (of the Navy) over to see the Prince, to discuss with him the details in regard to the League of Nations. As Captain KOBAYASHI was the officer who had showed Prince SAIONJI the old battlefield of France when he attended the Peace Conference, the Prince seemed to recall who he (Captain KOBAYASHI) was. Nevertheless, Prince SAIONJI's reply was: "Anyway, as my health isn't too good, I would like to have the visit postponed for a while."

There was nothing of great importance to report to the Prince, therefore I returned from Okitsu that same day and upon reaching home, found that the details of the note had been ascertained.

On March 3rd I again went to Okitsu and informed the Prince that the Foreign Minister stated: "He would like to see the Prince and talk the matter (withdrawal from the League) over before referring it to the Privy Council for deliberation."

To this, the Prince replied: "Please tell him (Fo-

reign Minister) that I already know the general policy of the Government, therefore it is not necessary for him to come and see me."

I also notified the Prince that (according to the Foreign Minister): "The draft of the Imperial Edict was almost ready, therefore he wanted to have the Prince look it over."

The Prince also remarked: "I understand that President SUZUKI of the Saiyukai, as well as President ADACHI (Minseito), want to talk things over with me. However, I am positive that even if I agree to see them, they won't have anything to tell me and I also don't have anything special to say to them. Therefore, I shall consider about seeing them for a while. But if both of them have the intention of straightening out their parties and discussing various other matters I shall be glad to see them, but won't that cause criticism?"

The foregoing was the opinion of the Prince, therefore I suggested that: "He (the Prince) think it over at his leisure and then make a reply. The reason why there is discord between TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister, and the Minister of War is the fact that the Minister of War has pressed a huge supplementary budget upon the Finance Minister. I have heard that: 'The funds for the subjugation of the Peiping-Tientsin area are included in this'. Therefore: 'The Finance Minister is very much provoked.'

"Just before I left for Okitsu, I saw the Finance Minister but I found out that the foregoing conclusions were merely rumors, for the larger percentage of the amount requested in the supplementary budget was for the grant of awards to soldiers who had participated in

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various incidents already ended."

I also reported to the Prince that the House of Peers intended to straighten out the atmosphere and have all factions unite and present a resolution which will not only encourage the Government, but also warn it about the stabilization of finance.

The Prince replied: "The Premier must first be notified about the resolution also."

The Prince also stated that since the contents of the proposal for the Imperial Rescript being prepared at the Foreign Ministry is very important, they must be very careful in prepering it.

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Chapter 73
(6 March 1933)

American Financial Crisis

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the morning of the 6th, I received a phone call from Lt. Colonel SUZUKI saying: "The gutter-press is attacking Prince SAIONJI. It is very disgusting. (that is the contents of the article was to the effect that the Prince should be made to resign as an elder statesman.) According to the papers, Foreign Minister UCHIDA is planning to call on the Prince, but for a Minister of State to go running to see the Prince on one thing or another gives the public a bad impression. Therefore, be it business affairs or affairs of the state, will it not be sufficient if you (HARADA) would deliver the message? Anyway an edler statesman's duty is to make a reply to His Majesty's inquiry at the time when there is a political change. I do not think that it is necessary for him to interfere with matters other than the above."

I replied: "Foreign Minister UCHIDA probably will not call on the Prince." Thereupon, I went to the Foreign Ministry about noon and upon meeting UCHIDA, Minister of Foreign Afairs, I told him: "You were kind enough to say you were going to call on he Prince but since the Prince already knows of the general policy of the government, and as I am aware of the pressure of official business on your part, it is too much trouble for you to go as far as Okitsu. Therefore, if there is not any special matter to be discussed with the Prince on your part, I think there is no necessity for you to go. In other words, if you do not have any urgent problem to discuss with the Prince, I would like to have

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you postpone the trip."

To the foregoing the Foreign Minister answered: "It is quite annoying as there are those who make all sorts of criticisms. As a result, in spite of the fact that I have already requested permission to call on the Prince, I shall cancel it."

The resolution of the House of Peers leaked into the hands of the newspapers, therefore the Research Society raised quite a commotion. This resulted in the formation of a small committee and many consultations were held but it was discontinued on the afternoon of the 7th without reaching any conclusion.

It was intended to have Prince KONOYE as the proposer of the resolution but President TOKUGAWA, of the House of Peers, declared: "As Prince KONOYE is Vice-President of the House of Peers, it will be awkward to have him take the platform. (the reason being, "What if I (TOKUGAWA) drop dead while the Vice-President is on the platform? It will be impossible to restore order in the House.) However, even according to parliamentary law, parliament is given certain powers, therefore what Prince TOKUGAWA says is not logical. Nevertheless, due to the fact that the secretaries, including the Chief Secretary, have conformed to a currupt custom of absolute obedience to the President of the Privy Council up to now, there was no one who would lodge a complaint against him.

If the news had not leaked out to the newspapers this time, negotiations between the various factions would have gone smoothly and it would have been possible to explain boldly to the President of the Privy Council the legality

of the Vice-President's submitting a proposal; then to have him explain the proposal, and to have YAMAGIZAWA, Chairman of the Budget Committee, present the speech of approval.

As the budget is based on an emergency situation, it is gigantic, and substantially speaking, it does not balance with the nation's power. Therefore, either the finance, taxation or administration should be adjusted and I would like to see the Government use as a fundamental principle the balancing of receipts and disbursements and return the unsound budget to its original amount or improve it. From not only the financial standpoint but also from the standpoint of national policy, there is nothing Japan can do but to perfect Manchuria. That is, carry out its fixed policy regarding that country.

The Army is talking about attacking Russia, and a certain faction of the Navy is speaking of fighting America, but as long as the internal affairs of Japan are such that there are not sufficient funds to start anything elsewhere, we must develop Manchukuo into something splendid. This is the most important work for Japan at the present moment. On the other hand, Japan must endeavor not to breed trouble with both Russia and the United States and concentrate its power on Manchuria. At the same time, it is also important for Japan to strengthen itself from the standpoint of internal affairs, thought and finance. With this in mind, the House of Peers intends to warn the people with a resolution and at the same time to encourage the Government. In other words, it is for the purpose of somewhat setting the unrest within military circles and to create an atmosphere making it possible to return to normal diplomacy; but due to lack

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of uniformity in opinion within the House of Peers, it ended in failure about the 7th.

In the meantime, news of the sudden dreadful panic in the United States began to arrive about the 3rd or 4th. A communication to the effect that the President of the United States after completing his inaugural speech, immediately called together financial authorities to discuss for several days ways and means of combatting the panic, was received. At the same time, a wire saying that the export of gold has been prohibited in the United States was received. Of course Japan could not help but be affected but in one sense, those who were noisily discussing the possibility of war with the United States came to the conclusion that the United States would never take the offensive and that Japan also could not develop an inclination to take certain action against the United States. In other words, by the Grace of Heaven, those who were advocating war with the United States seem to have been subdued. At the same time, the fact that precaution must be taken due to America's attitude should not cause criticisms on the part of the Army. As one can see by looking at Europe, the coercive situation of Hitler in Germany was due to the fact that Germany was secure enough to attack Russia. The intellectuals of Japan were quite concerned for fear those who might advocate war with Russia might appear.

I left on March 3, stopped over at Yugawara, and reported at the home of the Prince on the morning of the 4th. There was a letter there from Foreign Minister ARITA, and according to the Prince:

"It was addressed to you (HARADA) but I opened it, wondering what the contents could be and it was a top secret

wire from MATSUOKA to the Foreign Minister." The contents of the wire was to the effect that MATSUOKA wanted to return via the United States and Great Britain on his way home from the League of Nations in order that he might make both nations understand Japan's assertion.

When Viscount ISHII planned a personal trip to Europe, the Government, approving of this for the purpose of having him indirectly mitigate the unwholesome attitude of Europe toward Japan, planned to request this of Ambassador ISHII. MATSUOKA hearing of this plan, had wired: "I'll be asbolutely put out should you send Ambassador ISHII. If Viscount ISHII is coming, I shall return home." In regard to the United States, MATSUOKA had wired: "Please cancel all plans to send Count KABAYAMA on a trip to the United States. It is detrimental to present-day Japan to show even a slight indication of compromise. It is preferable that we exhibit solitary dignity. Therefore, at this time no one else will do but me. I myself will visit Great Britain and the United States to prove to them Japan's solitary dignity."

There are many who say that: "MATSUOKA's motive is domestic rather than foreign, for it seems that he is endeavoring to prove his official prestige."

As the foregoing contents of the wire were meant to be shown to Prince SAIONJI and the Premier lastly, to secure their approval, and since they forgot to give me the wire directly, Vice-Minister ARITA had it sent directly to me at Prince SAIONJI's residence in Okitsu.

After reading the wire, the Prince stated:

"I cannot agree with MATSUOKA's idea at this time. I think that the instructions the Government sent to

the plenipotentiary (MATSUOKA) are most suitable and therefore feel that it is appropriate to have him take action according to the official orders already sent."

In the midst of my conversation with the Prince I called the Foreign Ministry, and Vice-Minister ARITA, who answered the phone, stated: "The fact is, we would like to have you ask Prince SAIONJI his opinion of the wire and if he opposes it, we are thinking of enclosing that message in the reply to be sent out (to MATSUOKA) from the Foreign Ministry."

Therefore I (HARADA) told him: "Of course the Prince is opposed to the idea." After obtaining the Prince's consent, I told the Vice-Minister that it was alright to include the fact that the Prince does not favor MATSUOKA's wire in the contents of the reply to be sent him.

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Chapter 74
(15 March 1933)

Incidental Matters

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the ninth, I called on the newly-appointed Minister of the Imperial Household, YUASA, at the Ministry of the Imperial Household and expressed my congratulations. In regard to the recent postponement of Prince KAYA's contemplated foreign tour, YUASA (Minister of the Imperial Household) thought: "It was a very appropriate action."

Thereupon, Prince SAIONJI also stated: "To have the Prince (KAYA) travel at a time like this might result in his encountering many unpleasant situations, therefore he might not benefit much."

As even the Prince (SAIONJI) was of the above opinion, Prince KAYA, after observing matters from all angles, was desirous of postponing the trip but outwardly he did not make any direct comment. Nevertheless, in view of the unexpected turn of events Prince KAYA felt that it was better that he should not go abroad immediately. Later, after a desultory conversation, he (Imperial Household Minister) left.

On this same day I met the Minister of Justice at the Diet and when I inquired about various matters he told me about Judge OZAKI's affair as well as others. The Minister of Justice also told me of the rumor to the effect that when the settlement of the May 15th Incident is made, a certain faction of the military will raise an uproar. Nevertheless, as soon as the Diet is adjourned, I would like to call on the Prince to make various

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reports," was what the Minister of Justice stated.

On the 11th I again reported to the Prince and told him about the notification of withdrawal and matters pertaining to withdrawal from the League of Nations which will be referred to the Privy Council for deliberation. The matter pertaining to withdrawal from the League of Nations will be deliberated upon together with the notification of withdrawal, and as soon as the deliberation by the Privy Council is completed, the notification will be sent to the League of Nations and at the same time the Imperial Proclamation will be issued. The Foreign Ministry is at present making a study of the contents of the Imperial Proclamation. One of the problems under discussion is whether or not to refer the above to the Cabinet meeting. In general, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister will look at it (contents of the Imperial Proclamation) and the Ministry of the Imperial Household will take care of the wording.

On the tenth, KIDO received an order from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and met the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The reason for this was the fact that the Emperor desired to have included in the Imperial Proclamation of withdrawal from the League of Nations: "Japan regrets very much the fact that she has to withdraw from the League of Nations. Japan will endeavor to strive for world peace and other aims of the League of Nations." The foregoing precaution of the Emperor was issued to KIDO by the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, who in turn went to convey it to the Foreign Minister.

When I reported to the Prince on the 11th, the Prince said: "First, the Jehol Incident should be settled by

now but what about it? I also calculate that the general preparations in regard to withdrawal from the League of Nations have been completed. Is this true? Moreover, I feel that due to the passage of the budget, things have become somewhat settled."

To ascertain matters, the Prince also asked: "Do you suppose that the Government will be affected by MATSUOKA's wire?"

He also inquired: "What about the money market of the United States? "There is talk about having royalty as Premier. Have you (HARADA) heard anything to this effect?

"In regard to the relief of the Tohoku area, I would like to do everything within my power," the Prince added.

At the same time the Prince told me: "Put off meeting SUZUKI, Kisaburo and ADACHI, Kenzo for a short while."

He also stated: "I declined to see Foreign Minister UCHIDA. Is that alright with you?"

Generally speaking, the state of affairs concurred with the opinions indicated in the questions of Prince SAIONJI.

I assured the Prince that: "Of course, the Government will not be influenced by MATSUOKA's wire." Moreover, I called the Foreign Ministry and asked for a copy of the wire in reply to MATSUOKA's.

When I returned to Tokyo, the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet suddenly tendered his resignation on the 12th and at the same time HORIKIRI, Director of the Bureau of Legislation, was selected as the new Chief Secretary.

On the 13th, I met the Premier and he stated: "In

connection with the recent resignation of the Chief Secretary of the Cabinet, his child unexpectedly became deeply involved in one thing or another, and it was determined by the law-court to bring charges against him. Therefore (the Chief Secretary) hastily reported that he wanted to resign. As I already had received, confidentially, his letter of resignation I decided to accept his resignation.

About a month ago, when the President of the Seiyukai met with the Premier, the Premier said to him: "The Chief Secretary wants to resign very badly but I (Premier) have told him, we shall all be resigning very shortly so let us do it together."

The foregoing, of course, got to the ears of the Seiyukai and as a result there were repeated rumors to the effect that "there should be a general resignation of the Cabinet." Therefore, I (HARADA) inquired about this.

The Premier replied: "I have never mentioned anything in connection with the resignation of the Chief Secretary. President SUZUKI made his leave after we discussed matters concerning the League of Nations. I never spoke about the Chief Secretary," the Premier clearly stated.

Later MATSUNO and some others of the Seiyukai came over and talked of what has been mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.

I (HARADA) tactfully deals with them saying: "Anyway, at the present moment, I cannot forecast anything."

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Chapter 75
(21 March 1933)

Army Ready for War

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

I left Tokyo on the 16th for Okitsu and told the Prince: "KIDO will report here on the 18th. As for me, I have no concrete problem to discuss with you at present. It seems that there are various activities being carried out in anticipation of various political changes after the end of the Diet Session. However, I am of the opinion that there is nothing of great importance."

I also spoke of the sudden resignation of the Chief Secretary, basing the story on what the Premier had told me. I further stated that there was also absolutely nothing in the contents of the conversation between the Premier and President SUZUKI which indicated that the Premier mentioned anything regarding the time element in regard to the resignation of the Cabinet members. That is, the Premier stated: "I have never referred to the question of my resignation." I continued: "As for the military, there are many who are saying that: 'Recently, the Army has become very impartial in the treatment of personnel.' That is: 'The recent transfers are not too satisfactory from the standpoint of the UGAKI as well as the anti-UGAKI faction.' Because of this the opinion of some is: 'The selection of personnel of War Minister ARAKI is rather impartial.' Generally speaking, without doubt there is an enormous change in the situation today from that of last year, and Minister of War ARAKI has gradually come to be recognized by the public as a man of practical sense."

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The foregoing was what I related to the Prince. Without reporting anything of importance that day, I took my leave. When I returned to Tokyo on the 17th and went to the Foreign Ministry, I heard from ARITA the conversation between the Minister of War and the Minister of Foreign Affairs which took place at the committee meeting of the Privy Council. That is, two councillors, HARA, Yoshimichi and General KIWAI, inquired of the War Minister and the Foreign Minister: "Does the Government have intentions of concluding a non-aggression pact with Russia?"

To this the Foreign Minister distinctly replied: "No." The foregoing reply made it evident that during Foreign Minister UCHIDA's term of office as Foreign Minister it would be impossible to carry out a policy whereby, in exchange for concluding a non-aggression pact with Russia, Russia would recognize the independence of Manchukuo.

In regard to the enormous propaganda power of Communism, HARA, Yoshimichi stated: "Instead of trying to work out a detailed counter-measure, we should sever diplomatic relations with Russia, which is the basis of everything, and, when the opportune moment arises, attack Russia. Does the Army have both the determination and preparation for such action?"

To this inquiry, the Minister of War, in a manner as though he had been waiting for this opportunity for over an hour, launched into his plans against Russia and revealed the true intention of the Army—its determination and its preparedness.

At a former meeting of the Privy Council's committee dealing with the withdrawal from the League of Nations, the Foreign Minister stated: "Japan's policy of inter-

national harmony is the same today as it was formerly. The clash of opinion with the League at this time is concerned only with Manchuria."

The foregoing reply made by Foreign Minister UCHIDA was a masterpiece as far as the Foreign Minister himself was concerned. In spite of the fact that Vice-Minister ARITA was rejoicing over the foregoing fact, at the conference of the 17th, he (Foreign Minister) took a definite attitude, therefore the Vice-Minister was very puzzled.

It seems that the Imperial proclamation which will be issued at the same time with the notification of withdrawal from the League of Nations, is now under discussion. In connection with the contents of the above, pertaining to the phrase, "as a national policy of the Imperial Government", TANI, Chief of the Asia Bureau, took the matter up personally with the Minister of War and had the phrase changed and had its contents clearly stated as, 'the independence of Manchuria.' This is due to the fact that although Japan has emphasized Manchuria's Independence since the Manchurian Incident, a portion of the military wanted it to be worded as "national policy of the Imperial Government" saying that if the term "independence" is used it might be inconvenient at the time when Manchuria should merge with Japan. There are definite indications that the word "independence" was purposely avoided but since it was decided that such a thing should not be done even upon Japan's honor, this matter was forcibly explained to the War Minister and in the end, the prasing, "independence of Manchuria" was used.

As for the resolution of the House of Peers, a

compromise was finally completed on the 20th at a small committee meeting. The decisions in regard to thought problems were interwoven into the resolution and it was decided to present this together with the finance resolution. The foregoing information was obtained from Count SAKAI.

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Chapter 76
(28 March 1933)

Takahashi Seeks To Resign

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

On the 24th, the resolution partaining to the situation was introduced by Prince ICHIJO, and Count MATSUDAIRA presented the speech of approval in regard to it.

On the 23rd, I visited YAMAMOTO, Minister of Home Affairs, at his residence and I heard from Baron YAMAMOTO the conversation which took place when the Premier called on him:

"The Premier is not necessarily insisting on clinging to his political power, but to cause a political change, especially at this time, is not very feasible from the standpoint of the state of affairs of the nation today. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the Diet has been adjourned, I feel that it is better for our country's sake to remain as we are. Still, it is not a good idea to have newspapers etc., publish news to the effect that there will be a political change and thus spread an unwholesome atmosphere, so I would like to have this matter settled as soon as possible. I have my own ideas in regard to this but I would like an opportunity to see Prince SAIONJI as soon as possible and find out his opinions."

Minister of Home Affairs YAMAMOTO, too, was saying: "I guess there is nothing but this that we can do about the matter."

I (HARADA) met the Premier at the Diet Building and he said: "It is very unpleasant to have such a dense, uneasy atmosphere due to indiscriminate rumors of a poli-

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tical change, therefore I would like to settle this matter promptly. It is my desire to call on Prince SAIONJI first of all, to relate to him my views on the matter and to find out his."

Therefore I (HARADA) replied: "If it is your intention to see the Prince, and I am quite sure you are planning to do so, please, above all, get the opinions of TAKAHASHI and YAMAMOTO; a few days ago the Prince inquired of me: 'What do you suppose TAKAHASHI is going to do?' Therefore, I think it would be very wise for you to find out TAKAHASHI's views before calling on the Prince."

To this, the Premier replied: "Of course I would like very much to talk over the matter with both the Minister of Home Affairs and Finance Minister TAKAHASHI. I shall go to Okitsu after I have done this."

In the afternoon I met with the Finance Minister and he stated: "Some time ago the Premier remarked: 'We shall have to continue as we are for a while longer; therefore, please stick with us.' But to the foregoing I (TAKAHASHI) replied: 'To tell you the truth, I have promised President SUZUKI that as soon as the Diet ends its session, I shall resign by myself, therefore, you (President SUZUKI) manage the Diet as you see fit.' Thus, as long as nothing special happens, I shall have to carry out what I said and resign; otherwise it will look as thought I deceived SUZUKI. Hence I want to resign.' With this, I (Finance Minister) told Premier SAITO: 'In the first place, aren't there many who can take my place? Besides even if I do remain in office, the next Finance Minister will have to travel to Nagoya and Osaka on a

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speech-making tour. Judging from my present state of health, it is an impossible task. As a result I told the Premier to request the President of the Seiyukai to recommend someone as Finance Minister and, if he should refuse to recommend anyone, it would be alright to see the person in question (eligible as Finance Minister) and in this way to select someone from the Seiyukai. If the attitude of the Seiyukai becomes unpleasant, we could indicate our intentions to truly resign. It would be alright to act with that determination.' The foregoing was what I (TAKAHASHI) told the Premier."

On the 25th, I left Tokyo for Okitsu and made a general report of the situation. I took both the Imperial proclamation, which will be issued together with the notification of withdrawal from the League of Nations and the reports of the findings after the plenary session of the Privy Council is ended on the 27th.

The Prince after glancing through the above remarked: "They speak of peace in the East, but world peace cannot be obtained merely by peace in the East. It is preferable that we first consider world peace, the welfare of mankind, then peace of the East will be the outcome. The constant advocating of peace in the East arouses one's suspicions.

"In the last paragraph of the Privy Council Report, remarks such as, 'Take appropriate action', or 'Use prudence', are made to the Government in connection with future Government policies. Could this be an underplot to urge the establishment of a Diplomatic-General Staff Office? The government must not be caught in such a plot. I do hope there are no indications that the govern-

ment might agree on establishing a Diplomatic-General Staff Office or Diplomatic Investigation Committee."

The foregoing was what the Prince related.

I (HARADA) answered: "The purpose of the Premier's next visit with you is, naturally, to discuss the political change. First of all, the Premier was quite troubled over the possible resignation of TAKAHASHI, Finance Minister. Therefore I calculate that it is the intention of the Premier to resign with your backing." With this, I related to the Prince the conversation which took place when I met with the Premier, Baron YAMAMOTO and Finance Minister, TAKAHASHI.

To this, the Prince remarked: "Well, the Cabinet should go ahead just as it is, as long as possible." Nevertheless, I (HARADA) remarked: "Should they say anything to the effect that 'due to the responsibility of Minister of Justice, KOYAMA'... or should they handle the resignation of HATOYAMA, MITSUCHI and other Cabinet members of the Seiyukai unskilfully, I have fears that the Cabinet might crash all together."

The Prince replied saying: "Even so, it is not a very wise idea to have a renotification of the Imperial mandate to form a ministry. I presume that there is nothing else that could be done but to have the Cabinet continue steadily as they are."

To this I replied: "In a way, the Minseito, taking on an attitude of a ministerialist, is conducting itself in all sorts of ways and as a result is producing ill effects on the Cabinet. Therefore, I feel that to select personnel from the Minseito to fill vacancies is not to the advantage of the Government."

Prince SAIONJI remarked: "I wonder if KIDO and KONOYE harbor the same thoughts."

To this I answered: "I think that they do."

KIDO left Tokyo on the evening of March 17th and called at the Prince's residence on the 18th and related to him what had taken place before and after the change in the Imperial Household Minister as well as various other problems. KIDO was also expected to discuss with the Prince matters dealing with the political situation.

Upon his return KIDO told me: "The Prince knows the prevailing situation very well."

The order of presentation of the foregoing paragraph is reversed but I had to mention it here at least once.

I returned to Tokyo and on the afternoon of the 26th, soon after the Premier's luncheon party was over, I met him (Premier) at his official residence and told him first, that Prince SAIONJI approved of the proposal of the Imperial Proclamation. I also told the Premier what I had discussed with the Prince and the Premier likewise said: "I am very much troubled over Finance Minister TAKAHASHI's desire to resign from office. I have been thinking of asking his aid in regard to the above matter, therefore, when I go to call on him the next time, I shall have to make such a request.

"I (Premier) intend to leave for Ise on the 30th to pay homage. I would like to call at Okitsu on the 2nd, therefore please check with the Prince to find out whether it will be convenient for me to see him."

The foregoing was what the Premier told me, therefore, I called Okitsu and spoke of the Premier's wishes

to the Prince.

The Prince replied: "I shall await him (Premier) on the morning of the 2nd."

I immediately delivered this message to the Premier.

On the 27th, the plenary session of the House of Peers ended without a hitch. To Councillor MIZUMACHI's inquiries regarding the financial and economic situation, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI made really remarkable, first class replies as well as explanations which won high respect from the Asia Bureau Chief and others.

At noon of the 27th, the Diet members were summoned to the Palace for a get-together (in appreciation of their efforts during the Diet session). While being received in audience I stood, by chance, beside Viscount OKABE and Chief Secretary NIKAMI of the Privy Council, who were busy talking as they stood waiting. Viscount OKABE was saying: "I went to the Foreign Ministry and spoke of what you told me and they did not seem to disapprove of it"; this was the gist of the conversation and, in general, it sounded as though it had something to do with the examination section.

"Include some councillors in the examination section, i.e. add experts. They do not necessarily have to be members of the Privy Council and could be selected from outside sources...", was the general content of the conversation. As it seemed that OKABE was carrying on as though he were pouring oil on fire, it began to worry me and as a result, I suggested that "We sit at the same table when lunch was served."

Vice-Foreign Minister ARITA and KIDO were also close by, therefore the four of us, KIDO, ARITA, OKABE and my-

self sat down at one table.

Then I asked OKABE: "Wasn't your conversation with NIKAMI regarding the foregoing?" He replied: "Exactly."

Then I said: "To tell you the truth, it would be ideal if the Privy Council could have at least two or three influential Privy Councillors as members of the Diplomatic Investigation Committee and somehow control the Foreign Ministry. The so-called intermeddlers are the ones who are scheming such things, therefore you are also merely its tool. To me, it sounded as though you were expressing your approval of the idea and encouraging its implementation. It appeared dangerous to my ears and so it worried me. This is quite a problem and because of this, I think it would be wiser if you do not get deeply involved."

With the foregoing words, I seriously warned OKADA. Evidently, the seriousness of what he said finally dawned on him (OKABE) for he said: "TSUBOGAMI might have opinions on this matter but nevertheless, I think it would be a wise idea to discuss this problem at length with ARITA and others." Thus, it seems that, after discussing the matter with all of us, OKABE finally understood various circumstances.

On the evening of the 26th, I was invited to dinner together with ten or more members of the House of Peers at the official residence of the Minister of War. At that time the War Minister unreservedly discussed problems regarding Russia and China. Contrary to one's expectation, it was discovered that the War Minister was a man who was not harboring a principle of challenge alone. And so, with promises of future meetings, I took

my leave.

Due to the foregoing topic of discussion, I stopped over at the office of the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and upon my return home from meeting the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the news extra of the notification of withdrawal and the Imperial Proclamation, as well as that of the Premier's statement, was out.

The general reaction of the public in regard to the above was favorable. Society was of the opinion that the Imperial Proclamation was well written and it received much praise from the intellectuals.

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Chapter 77
(3 April 1933)

League Withdrawal Proclaimed

Translated by Miss Chito Isonaga

Later, when I reported to the Prince and the Imperial Proclamation was brought up in the course of the conversation, I stated:

"Generally speaking, the recent Imperial Proclamation was written very plainly. There are indications that the people as a whole were deeply affected by His Majesty's will."

But the Prince replied:

"For an Imperial Proclamation, I feel that it was written a little too much in detail. On the whole, I feel that an Imperial Proclamation should grasp the main points and not bother with the minute details. Nevertheless, it is alright as it is."

The draft of this Imperial Proclamation was prepared by the Foreign Ministry and the Cabinet. The contents in particular, were prepared by TANI, Chief of the Asia Bureau. Consulting with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, the Foreign Minister upon several occasions submitted it to His Majesty for inspection.

The Emperor, reluctantly, that is with many misgivings, disagreed with the League of Nations in regard to the Manchurian problem and as a result, His Majesty was compelled to order Japan to withdraw from the League. However, in the matter of promoting the welfare of mankind and devoting itslef to the maintenance of world peace; in other words, in regard to international cultural undertakings, Imperial Japan, in spite of withdrawal, will go forward with the

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same spirit as the League. Japan is not taking a stand that she disagrees with the League of Nations on matters other than that which concerns Manchuria, as a result of her resignation.

The foregoing point as well as another that the civil and the military should work in harmony within their respective spheres, that is to say, the supreme command and the cabinet; in other words, there should be a systematic distinction between the political organ and the organ of the supreme command and a mutual avoidance of intruding in each others affairs. Due to the present-day situation, the foregoing point was highly emphasized.

The above two points were most stressed by His Majesty and upon several occasions the Emperor cautioned along these lines.

As a result, when the draft proposal was brought up at the Cabinet meeting, there was a discussion in regard to adding the following phrases: "The Civil and Military should work in harmony within their respective spheres." There should be no disorderly emotion between superior and subordinate, or respectful admiration should exist between superior and subordinate, for the purpose of signifying the fact that both civil officers and military personnel were working methodically. Nevertheless ARAKI, Minister of War, opposed the foregoing and as a result, the foregoing phrases were not attached.

When I spoke of this to Prince SAIONJI, he said:

"It seems to me that it would be to the advantage of the Army if such phrases were added. It sounds dubious to me."

League Withdrawal Proclaimed

On the 28th or 29th, a fellow by the name of YOSHIDA who is a sort of secretary attached to TOKONAMI came over to Prince KONOYE's residence with a message to the effect that: "General HAYASHI, Senjuro, Inspector-General of Military Education would like to meet with Prince KONOYE."

According to this fellow YOSHIDA, General HAYASHI stated: "No matter what happens, it is not advisable at present to have political power go to a political party. Present-day Japan should check the army, and the only person who can withstand the responsibilities of a great political change is Baron HIRANUMA. It would be dreadful should the political power go to a political party." The foregoing was what YOSHIDA told KONOYE.

When I went to call on Prince KONOYE, there was an army vehicle parked, and upon going in, I was told: "General HAYASHI is here." Therefore I waited for a while.

According to KONOYE, after the General left: "YOSHIDA rather emphatically stated that General HAYASHI condemns political parties but it did not seem so when I met him. Nevertheless, he (General HAYASHI) was of the opinion that 'The only person who is capable of checking the army is Baron HIRANUMA and if it is at all preventable, it is not a wise idea to have the political parties at this time. Nevertheless, have Baron HIRANUMA form the new Cabinet. Baron HIRANUMA is easily mistaken as being cold and crafty, therefore there is nothing that could be done but to have TOKONAMI, Takejiro, who is gentle and virtuous, unite their efforts. The Vice-Chief of

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the General Staff, MAZAKI, is also of the same opinion.'

"So saying, (General HAYASHI) did not say anything which was malicious about the members of the military circle. He stated: 'General UGAKI is a qualified man but the time is not yet ripe for him to take over.' Thus, what he (General HAYASHI) said was comparatively moderate," according to Prince KONOYE.

Two days after this, TOKONAMI called on Prince KONOYE. The reason for this visit was in connection with what YOSHIDA had said. As for KONOYE, previous to this encounter, he first inquired of TOKONAMI: "I understand that you want to see me. Is this truly your desire?"

TOKONAMI's reply to this was: "By all means, I want to see you."

Later when I asked KONOYE what TOKONAMI had to say, KONOYE mentioned that TOKONAMI had met Baron HIRANUMA only once and that he had not as yet had the pleasure of meeting General HAYASHI. TOKONAMI in his own words stated:

"My close associates are saying this and that but I have not met him (General HAYASHI) yet.

"How would it be to have the President of the Seiyukai as Premier and include WAKATSUKI, President of the Minseito, in the Cabinet. After all, when you take into consideration President SUZUKI's health, he won't last too long and in the meantime, the improvised political party will surely become disordered. When that happens, proper action could be taken but at present I figure that it would be better to make SUZUKI the Premier and include WAKATSUKI in the Cabinet. The Seiyukai gang

might raise objections to what I say but those are my opinions."

The foregoing was the gist of TOKONAMI's conversation and it seems as though Prince KONOYE did not mention anything at all in detail in reference to his relationship with HIRANUMA. Therefore, under these circumstances, it seems as though TOKONAMI might have some sort of an understanding with HIRANUMA and also with SUZUKI.

On the morning of April 1, I met with Finance Minister TAKAHASHI and he still hinted at resignation but said: "Anyway, Premier SAITO has told me: 'Let us meet again after I return from consulting with Prince SAIONJI.' Therefore, I (Finance Minister) am awaiting the Premier's return from Okitsu.

"Since Premier SAITO does not express his thoughts very much I do not know of his intentions at all. As to my resigning, I told him of my intention to resign after the end of the Diet session if nothing of importance should arise before I mentioned the same to President SUZUKI. He did not express any opposition and as a result I calculated that he was in accord with me. I therefore told SUZUKI: 'If nothing important should come up, it is my intention to resign even by myself.' If he is going to tell me 'not to resign now,' why didn't he tell me 'not to tell SUZUKI that I intended to resign?'"

The foregoing was what he (TAKAHASHI) told me.

Anyway, I stopped over at the Foreign Ministry later and then left on the one o'clock train for Okitsu. I arrived at Okitsu in the evening and went to the residence of the Prince and made a detailed report of the situation during the past four or five days.

League Withdrawal Proclaimed

On the morning of the 2nd, the Premier came to call on the Prince at 9:30 and left after conversing for an hour and twenty minutes. I dropped in to see the Prince about 1:30 P.M. and he said:

"Premier SAITO did not say a word about resigning immediately. First of all, he stated: 'The procedure of withdrawal from the League of Nations was comparatively well handled.' I discussed various matters with him such as the financial situation, and what the outcome of the talk with China will be, but hesitated to make a searching inquiry regarding diplomatic relations for fear I might embarrass him.

"The Premier then said: 'Well, I'll try to dissuade TAKAHASHI. Let us discuss the matter after I do that.'

"In any case, the Premier sounded as though he were going to do his utmost (to persuade TAKAHASHI to remain in office). Therefore, please mention this first to KIDO only but when the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal or others inquire of us, please say: 'Nothing of much importance seems to have been discussed' and do not mention the fact that the problems dealing with resignation were not discussed."

After talking over various matters, I returned to Tokyo on the 4 o'clock train.

From the conversation which took place when I went to Okitsu on the 6th, that is from the conversation pertaining to a Cabinet of talents of the Seiyukai, they spoke of selecting personnel who are non-members of the Party, therefore, someone came not long ago and asked: "What about OKANI, Sonyu?" To this I replied: "That

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would not be too satisfactory." Later, INUKAI came over and according to him: "I met with Prince KONOYE and tried to look for personnel in connection with the Cabinet of talents and he (Prince KONOYE) said: "I think OTANI, Sonyu is a good choice." He (KONOYE) also stated: "A puritan like HARADA might think it not to be a wise choice but I think he (OTANI) is alright."

When I spoke of the foregoing to the Prince, he said:

"Recently, OTANI has been trying to see me very often but I have been excusing myself. I too, am not particularly in favor of OTANI. Nevertheless, upon thinking over matters, when I was appointed Premier and was organizing the Cabinet during the reign of Emperor MEIJI, HARA, Kei repeatedly urged: 'Put in SENKE, Sonpuku.' When I told Emperor MEIJI: "I shall have SENKE, Sonpuku in the Cabinet", the Emperor asked:

'Is he not a Shinto priest?'

"To this, I (Prince) replied:

'This is the era when there are many politicians who are like Shinto priests. There are very few politicians who are not like Shinto priests.'

The Emperor laughed at this (remark)."

The Prince also went on and stated:

"There are times when such people are necessary.

"Just about that time, OTANI, Sonyu came over to see me and mentioned this and that about the Leftists. He stated: 'It is very distressing to see the Leftists spreading. Some measure must be taken to cope with this situation.'

"Therefore I replied: 'Isn't SHINRAN-SHONIN of your place an exceptional Leftist?'

"To this, OTANI, Sonyu replied: 'Oh no, he is not a Leftist. He is the opposite of that. His actions were rebellious.'

"Is that so. If he rebelled, why don't you also try the same." So saying, the Prince teased him (OTANI).

On his way home to Tokyo, the Premier, in an interview with news reporters, stated: "I'll carry on till I die." And, in this way expressed his intentions of not resigning. Due to this, the newspapers of the following day caused a great sensation.